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SHOWDOWN AT LORDSTOWN

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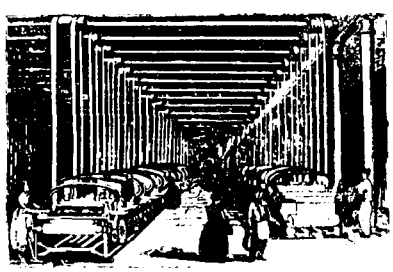
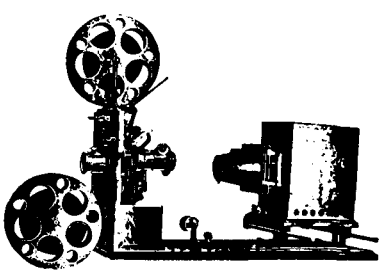


SECOND COMING OF THE ROTC

PETER J. OGNIBENE

DE SICA'S ITALIAN GARDEN

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.



A STATE OF QUIET CALAMITY

DAVID L. WARREN

We are told that the campuses have subsided into an 'eerie tranquillity.' But this is only a superficial reading of the current college mood.

ALSO: PETER STEINFELS on **THE FEMINIST ETHIC–II** GERALD WEALES on **GEORGE BERNARD SHAW** CARL J. ARMBRUSTER on **CREATIVE MINISTRY** RONALD CHRIST on **LATIN POETS** **CORRESPONDENCE:** MATTHEW M. MESTROVIC on **YUGOSLAVIA**

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NEWS & VIEWS

Eqbal Speaks Out

One of the notable details of the Catholic resistance movement has been the absence of any public self-criticism. The movement is disparate in character and the loosest sort of thing imaginable, the various resistance groups generally not knowing what any of the others are up to until a deed is done or an arrest made. But then, almost invariably, there is a rallying around the actionists and warm displays of allegiance.

Anyone close to the movement knows, however, that misgivings have existed in some quarters with regard to actions in others, and that the outward shows of commoncausism have not been all that unqualified.

A small crack in the seeming wall of solidarity occurred Feb. 13, when the *Washington Post* published Betty Medsger's piece on the life and philosophy of Eqbal Ahmad, one of the defendants in the Harrisburg conspiracy trial. Ahmad not only spoke critically about some of the resistance people, but cited a particular raid to drive the point home. These are the pertinent paragraphs from the Medsger article:

"Ahmad said he saw the early war protests of the Catholic left—such as the raids at Catonsville in 1968—as very effective, as events with political impact, as vehicles of drawing attention to the war in Vietnam. But as for the actions that numerous persons in the Catholic peace movement have taken public responsibility for since then, Ahmad said they have been a means for 'personal salvation,' not political moves. 'And I don't believe in personal salvation.' He defined such actions as the attempted raids in Camden, N. J., in August, 1971, in which 28 persons were arrested, as 'personal salvation' gestures for the individual participants and not strong symbols of a continuing war.

"A further reason for his disdain of such actions, he said, is that he thinks they are 'an activist expression of American individualism and obsession with heroism. . . I believe that what is politically wrong, like these actions, cannot be morally right.' "

Eqbal Ahmad will touch sensitive nerves with those comments, most especially among the Camden defendants, who will be coming up for trial in late summer and who must soon be formally about the business of building a defense fund. Ahmad's comments are not likely to make that work any easier—and, of course, they'll do nothing for the comradeship that has existed within the movement.

Ahmad told Ms. Medsger that resistance strategies were "under heavy intramural" reexamination during the time that the government maintains the alleged kidnap-bombing plot of the Harrisburg defendants was hatched.

"By 1969 it was evident that we needed to expand and not continue the ritualistic dance around draft boards," said Ahmad. "We had decided nothing doing as far as new actions go. We were about to get active in coffee houses on military bases. . . . I was urging the priests to go back to their parishes, to preach sermons that would change many people."

The Harrisburg indictments ground that reexamination to a halt, of course.

And the Camden action, which came later and involved four priests as 'participants' or 'accessories,' clued movement-watchers that whatever Eqbal Ahmad and his intimates may have decided, not all segments of the Catholic resistance were prepared to follow. A more militant wing of the Catholic left had sprouted; there was no longer an established Catholic-left hierarchy, at least none with the power to direct and/or control all of the movement.

What was true then is perhaps more true now.

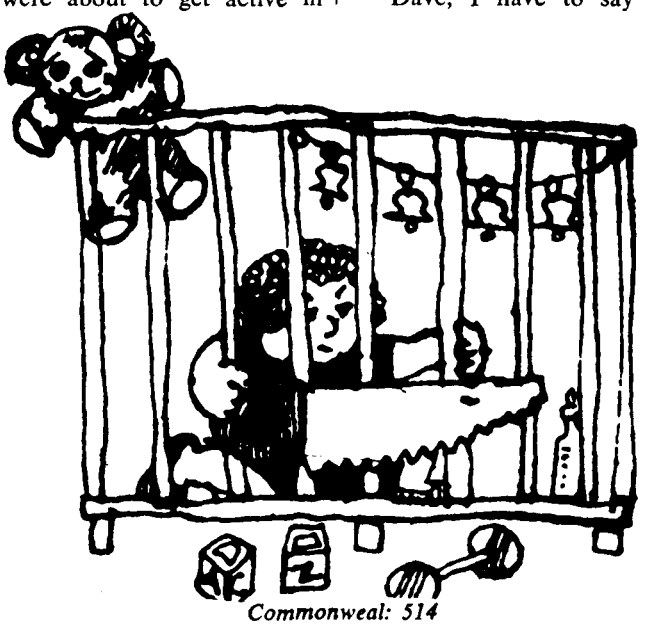
Variation on a Theme

There's a little of the Agnew in some Democrat liberals obviously, and a little of the Haldeman in their top aides too.

Thus, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey goes after CBS-TV reporter David Schoumacher for stating that his campaign was at a "virtual standstill" and that Humphrey might quit because of irritation with his staff.

"Dave, I have to say to you quite honestly I'm sorry about what you said," said HHH, directly addressing Schoumacher at a crowded news conference. "You saw it that way, and I think you saw it wrong. My campaign is gaining momentum if anything."

Humphrey's Florida campaign manager, Robert Hurwitz, added the Haldeman icing. The Schoumacher broadcast was "dishonest, inaccurate, and a report of a yellow journalist," said Hurwitz. "When one of the rotten apples in the press is discovered, the press should boot it out."



What Are They Now?

—*Msgr. Vincent A. Yzermans,* author, anthologist and editor (last stop, *Our Sunday Visitor*). He's pastor of St. Rose of Lima Church in Freeport, Minn., and staying in the news as a blesser of snowmobiles (400 of a recent date, in the church parking lot, in 10-below-zero weather). Ecology and the new liturgy, where art thou?

—*Father Robert I. Gannon, S.J.,* former president of Fordham and Spellman biographer. He's in residence at a Long Island retreat house, and staying in the news as a rabid partisan for peace . . . in Northern Ireland. At a Mass for peace in St. Patrick's Cathedral, he assailed "British bungling," "stupid" soldiers (British) and "stupid politicians" (British and Protestant Ulstermen).

Odds and Ends

—Fontbonne College, a 700-student liberal arts Catholic college for women in St. Louis, has announced cutbacks "to insure the survival of the college." Among the economies: elimination of the philosophy department.

—The new business and advertising manager of *America* magazine is named Finale.

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Croatian Crisis

To the Editors: Matthew M. Mestrovic's report on Yugoslavia's recent crisis was most enlightening [Jan. 7]. That the Croatian students and leaders (and other Yugoslavs as well) had sufficient cause for their dissatisfaction, that the harsh repression of dissent is deplorable and quite possibly self-defeating, I understand. These were points not always stressed in other accounts.

But Mr. Mestrovic leaves ratner obscure the exact program of the Croat "progressives" except to say that their disillusionment "led the intellectuals to clamor for the implementation on the national level of the Marxist principle of, *to each according to his labor*." (His italics.) Does this mean, in simpler terms, that they want Croatia, one of the better-off regions of Yugoslavia, to receive federal benefits proportionate to its contributions? That may or may not be justifiable—to me it smacks slightly of the traditional opposition to graduated income taxes and the redistribution of wealth. But I sense that Mr. Mestrovic is straining to banish the least blemish or complexity from his portrait of the Croatian leaders when he presents their position in terms of the "Marxist principle" he italicizes. From where in the Marxist canon does he draw this formula? The only Marxist slogan I know which resembles it, is "from each according to his capacity, to each according to his need." Which means, I believe, the opposite. STEVEN MCDONALD

Indiana, Pa.

To the Editors: In his article "Yugoslavia: On the Brink" [Jan. 7] Professor Mestrovic forgot to mention that the university students in Croatia demand (besides economic equality in Yugoslavia) the sovereignty for Croatia and its membership in the United Nations. IVO OMRCANIN

REPLY: The reformist movement, as

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THE AFFAIR

The Hughes-Irving affair, now that Phase One has passed, is worth some summary attention because of what it tells us about American values and concerns and about how the media interpret us to ourselves.

That the whole drama should have revolved around a man of such unheroic stature and such modest moral substance is unfortunate. Great public legal battles are most challenging and public mysteries most intriguing when fought over the lives and secrets of great men. Mr. Hughes is merely an exorbitantly rich and famous man, well known for being the most well known man about whom very little is known. Yet there are elements in his career and in his image that have captured at least the underside of the American imagination and fed the adolescent fantasy life of many American dreamers. He commands a financial empire of $2.5 billion and 50,000 employees; he has made movies; he set transcontinental flying records in the 1930's; he has had innumerable women at his disposal and disposed of them; he has bought most of Las Vegas and neglected it. In short, a thoroughly acquisitive career not outstanding for idealism or social concern.

On the one hand, the public has allowed this eccentric billionaire to feed its private dreams with visions of infinite wealth, secret political power, starlets, a Bahamian fortress hotel. On the other hand it has resented him—his money, his seclusion, his apparent detachment from the day-to-day human struggle for survival and integrity that makes so many lives at best ordeals—and it has hungered for every scrap of evidence that the rich aren't happy. Somehow then it made sense to believe that anyone that rich who hid from the outside world had six-inch fingernails, sported waist-length, scraggly hair and, as one cartoonist depicted him, answered the phone with his feet.

Of Clifford Irving little need be said. He, most likely, will not be resented. Everybody loves a good hoax. In 1835 one of history's most imaginative journalists, Richard Adams Locke of the New York *Sun,* concocted a series of stories about a giant telescope that had spotted man-bats flapping and spherical amphibious creatures rolling around the surface of the moon. The *Sun*'s circulation jumped to the highest in the world; and when the fraud was exposed the editors calmly took credit for "diverting the public mind, for a while, from that bitter apple of discord, the abolition of slavery." If we didn't have Clifford Irving, we would have to read

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about busing. Besides, the flim-flam man, snake-oil peddler and trombone salesman are now established figures in American folklore; few will complain that this one has mulcted a hungry textbook publisher too eager to capitalize on public curiosity to check Irving's initial fantastic story, punctured the self-assurance of handwriting experts, and bamboozled the journalism profession.

The whole tension of the Hughes-Irving conflict sprang from the fact that someone was lying. Yet, the press, rather than using its investigative resources to puncture the liar's balloon, instinctively tended to trust Irving because he was, after all, one of them or what they would like to be—a Writer who had found a Publisher for his Big Book. Alas, the assumption is that public thirst for little details on the famous is unquenchable. Thus the New York *Daily News* has let it out that David Cassidy doesn't care about the Vietnam war and *Atlantic* has revealed what Gore Vidal says about Truman Capote and what Capote then says about Vidal. And Time Inc., distracting its audience with trivia to cover its embarrassment, has disclosed that young Irving modeled himself on Hemingway, that he was friendly with a singing baroness and a scuba diver, and that he likes instant coffee and pound cake for breakfast while Hughes likes his steaks nine minutes on the grill. *Life* put Nina the baroness and an imaginary Hughes portrait on its covers, and *Time,* in a triumph of gimmickry over taste, featured an Irving cover portrait by the artist forger whom his *Fake* had given fame. So, the publications partly responsible for the scandal milked it for its sensationalism, feeding their circulations and covering their tracks by narrating the mess they had created, still quoting the editors and executives so sure their once-treasured manuscript had the ring, punch and smell of truth.

Now to Phase Two. Irving may or may not do a little time in jail. He has achieved a fame as a fraud that evaded him as a writer. A publisher will pay him handsomely for the story of his life, loves and works. But, who knows? He may grow weary of fame and want to withdraw from the prying world that has grown too curious about his wealth, his women, his ambitions and his dreams. And then . . .

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SECOND COMING

RETURN OF THE ROTC

In the *New York Times* of January 16 it was reported that the board of trustees at Princeton University had voted, 30-4, to permit the return of the Reserve Officers Training Corps program. This was a reversal of a trustees' decision, made in the wake of campus disturbances after the Cambodian invasion, to end the school's ties with ROTC by June 1972. The *Times* said the program would now become an extracurricular activity and that ROTC instructors would no longer be accorded academic rank. These two points were disputed by Colonel Gerald Perselay, the Assistant Director for ROTC programs in the Department of Defense. Perselay told me that the Directorate had a signed statement from Princeton officials to the effect that ROTC courses would continue to carry academic credit and that the head of the ROTC detachment would be accorded the rank and privileges of an academic department head, if not his former professorial title. If the colonel is right and the *Times* wrong, then the Air Force and Army ROTC program will continue business as usual at old Nassau, but no matter which account is correct, the primary function of ROTC—making second lieutenants of Princetonians—is going on as before.

The Princeton decision seems to foreshadow a second coming of ROTC on college campuses. In the aftermath of Cambodia, student rage over the Vietnam war needed a target, and ROTC became that target because —as mountain climbers said of Mt. Everest—it was there. Almost every major campus has an ROTC detachment and to visit anti-war wrath upon this symbol of the military requires a minimum of effort—no massive organization, no march on Washington, not even a missed meal. University administrators, that flexible breed whose tenure often depends upon campus temperature, acceded in some cases to student demands to close down ROTC in order to keep the campus cool. Now that the fires of the anti-war movement have turned to ash, the considerable subsidy of ROTC scholarships has apparently made the reinstatement of ROTC a popular agenda item for trustee meetings at schools where it had apparently been eliminated a year or so ago.

On January 27, Dr. George C. S. Benson, the retiring Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Education, told a House Armed Services Subcommittee that ROTC is presently "represented by more units (520) and on more campuses (374) than ever before." "Thirty-two new units were established this academic year, seven of these at predominantly black schools," said Benson. ROTC enrollment, however, has dramatically declined from 218,000 in academic year 1968-1969 to a present 83,000. Benson attributed the decline to the substitution of elective for compulsory programs at 150 schools over the past decade, force cut-backs resulting from the

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"winding down of the Vietnam war," and anticipated changes in the draft. This last point was no doubt a reference both to the draft lottery which has made it a relatively simple matter for students to calculate their chances of being drafted and the much-awaited volunteer army President Nixon presented in his 1968 campaign.

This dramatic decline in ROTC enrollment should not have been unexpected because a 1964 Defense Department survey of young officers who were ROTC graduates showed that half of them had enrolled in ROTC *only* to avoid the draft. Yet, despite the high degree of draft-motivation among ROTC students, ROTC is the largest single source of newly commissioned officers. Last year, Secretary of Defense Laird estimated that ROTC produces each year six times as many second lieutenants and ensigns as the service academies. By the end of the current fiscal year, it will have produced 14,680 new officers. So, the decline in ROTC enrollments is really viewed by the military with alarm, and the Pentagon is starting to fight back with the most reliable weapon in its arsenal: money.

Dr. Benson said that the annual cost of ROTC scholarships and student "subsistence allowances" is presently $65 million. Most of this money will, of course, eventually find its way into university coffers. Is it any wonder, then, that schools which have never had ROTC have begun to clamor for it and that schools which had planned to drop it are now having second thoughts?

In 1969 and 1970 fifteen schools asked that ROTC be withdrawn: Boston College, Boston University, Brown, Colgate, Columbia, Dartmouth, Harvard, Hobart College, New York University, Pratt Institute, Princeton, State University of New York at Buffalo, Stanford, Tufts, and Yale. "It is notable," said Benson, "that no college or university has requested withdrawal of ROTC since October 1970." In addition to Princeton, there is "active interest by alumni and students of several other Ivies"—specifically mentioned were Dartmouth, Brown, and Yale—to re-establish the ROTC program. So, reports a year or so ago of the death of ROTC were, to say the least, premature. ROTC is alive and well and more ubiquitous than ever. Although some of the "prestige schools" which had ROTC (but generally produced few career officers) may eliminate it or show smaller enrollments, other colleges and universities will likely prove eager to have ROTC because of the considerable financial subsidy they would receive in the form of ROTC scholarships—to say nothing of the favor which might later be bestowed by future Pentagon research grants and facilities if the campus climate is judged cordial to a long-term military partnership. In this regard it should be noted that many members of the Armed Services committees have tried to write into law a provision which would deny *any* Pentagon funds to schools which eliminate ROTC. This provision has not been enacted only because the Pentagon has adamantly opposed it, as no doubt have a number of professors at those fifteen schools who figure they could never build a ski chalet in Vermont on just a professor's salary.

The fact that almost a fourth of the new ROTC units are at predominantly black schools is significant. Dr. Benson estimated that "three-fourths of the black officers came from black colleges." There is apparently less peer pressure at black schools against joining ROTC than there is at predominantly white institutions. Economic motivation would seem to be a primary factor here. With military pay-raises in the past decade having made officer pay comparable to federal civil service and better in some respects, minority group members are likely to find a military career much more attractive than would, say, an Ivy League WASP. Expanding ROTC to more black schools, then, should have the salutary effect of greatly increasing the number of black officers in the officer corps above present token levels.

Because America's military bureaucracy has become as much a certainty as death and taxes, it would seem wise to recruit officers as broadly as possible from all segments of our society. Few even of the military's most ardent admirers would advocate that the service academies supplant ROTC as the single largest source of new officers even though there is growing evidence that service academy graduates are not the monolithic breed the public suspects them to be. With ROTC in disfavor at some schools where students are more interested in pursuing Consciousness III, it may once again flourish at more practical institutions where a B.A. or B.S. is still regarded primarily as a union card for better-paying jobs.

PETER J. OGNIBENE

(Peter J. Ognibene, a previous contributor, is a free-lance writer on military and political affairs in Washington.)

COMING

MURRAY POLNER attempts to create a profile of the Vietnam veteran:

"To explain away the discontented vet may be a new version of the old newspaper saw of how only man-bites-dog is worth a headline. The real news was not that 5,000 ex-GIs marched in the streets of the nation's capital or that they 'represented' but an infinitesimal proportion of the newer veterans. The point was that for the first time in our nation's history, men who had loyally served their country on its battlefields came to stand against their government's foreign policies while that very war was still on. And for the first time a sizable and growing, if still undetermined, number of veterans had expressed fury at what they were ordered to do."

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WOMEN AND THE 'FEMINIST ETHIC'—II

PETER STEINFELS

"WOMEN BY and large have not been able to challenge the value system of the dominant elite," wrote Mary Daly in the February 4 *Commonweal,* and certainly it is the dominant elite who have been most favorable to doing away with restrictions on abortion in the United States. At the end of her study on "Abortion and Public Opinion" (*Science,* February 12, 1971), Judith Blake concluded that "those who argue on a priori ideological grounds that certain groups *should* support legalized abortion in the United States" stand in contradiction to the facts:

> According to the latter, abortion should be supported most strongly by the less advantaged and by women. Clearly, this is not the case. *Legalized abortion is supported most strongly by the non-Catholic, male, well-educated "establishment."* (My italics—P.S.)

And Ms. Blake, a demographer firmly committed to legalized abortion as a means of population control, reasons that "changes in abortion laws, like most social changes, will not come about by agitation at the grass roots level. . . . Rather, it is to the educated and influential that we must look for effecting rapid legislative change in spite of conservative opinions among important subgroups such as the lower classes and women." Ms. Blake particularly hoped the Supreme Court might rule existing statutes unconstitutional, and if such a ruling was at variance with a large proportion of public opinion, "we must also take into account the more positive views of a powerful minority. . . ."

Public opinion has changed much more rapidly than Ms. Blake anticipated: judging from the Commission on Population Growth's more recent poll, one could, with reasonable hope of success, plan a strategy of abortion reform which did not have the manipulative undertones of her suggestions. Still the recent figures do not alter the finding that it is the "dominant elite" which leads the way.

Ms. Blake's analysis of this finding is worth quoting at length:

> In trying to understand these attitudes, we may surmise that upper-class men have much to gain and very little to lose by an easing of legal restrictions against abortion. For some time, these men seem to have been satisfied with relatively small families extending over a limited period in their lives. Thus the increased availability of abortions is not likely to damage whatever interest they have with respect to the family. Furthermore, their sexual freedom has been curtailed, both within marriage and outside it, by restrictions on contraception and pregnancy termination, since as a class they are especially vulnerable to being held financially and socially responsible for accidental pregnancies. . . . And when one takes into account the fact that birth-control "reforms" — whether advanced contraceptive methods like the pill and the coil, or abortion itself—cost men virtually nothing, their positive attitude toward legalizing abortion becomes even more plausible. After all, it is women who must undergo abortions, not men.

That explanation does not thoroughly convince me. Throughout her study, Judith Blake analyzes motivations, I believe, with considerably less skill than she does statistics; her "surmising" seems to rest as much on a somewhat pinched view of the human reality as on any real evidence. Still, the plausibility of her view suggests the difficulty in close correlations between attitudes on abortion and "sexual caste."

Which returns us to the way Mary Daly has chosen to frame the issue of abortion, as a conflict "between the ethic of patriarchal authoritarianism and the ethic of courage to confront ambiguity," the latter being identified with "feminist ethics."

Now the traditional ethic which condemned abortion absolutely was surely the product of a male-dominated system, a patriarchy, if you will. It was also the product of certain class structures, certain economic arrangements, certain cultural inheritances, etc. And at least for everyone but the material determinist, it also contains a large component of *reasoning* which, however related to its material and social context, cannot be reduced to it, but has a force and history of its own, and must be dealt with on its own terms.

Each of these different elements has shaped the ethic as a whole, but each of them has also weighed particularly on one or another aspect of the ethic. The traditional qualifications of the injunction against killing in the case of warfare probably did not reflect the "sexual caste" factor—men after all were the primary victims as well as perpetrators of the resultant behavior —as much as the needs of *rulers.* That "sexual caste" accounts for the isolation of abortion from its context, and its prohibition even in cases of rape or threatened death of the mother, seems most probable, although the whole area of traditional sexual ethics was also filled with absolute prohibitions of acts isolated from their contexts, even when it was men who appeared to be the prime sufferers. But does "sexual caste" have much to do with the question of determining the status of a fetus, a central issue in the abortion debate? I doubt it, and that may explain why Mary Daly chooses to ignore this issue altogether. In any case, the discovery that some elements of a philosophical position are distorted because of the environment in which they originated does not logically lead to a rejection of the whole rather than a modification of the parts. Both Aristotle and Thomas Jefferson lived in slave (as well as sexist) societies;

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A STATE OF QUIET CALAMITY

DAVID L. WARREN

The 'eerie tranquillity' theory is a misunderstanding of the campus situation.

A year ago this springtime, a rag-tag army of revolutionaries, left-liberals and culture freaks descended on Washington, aiming to "shut the city down" and halt the Vietnam war. Washington, however, remained open, 12,000 demonstrators were arrested without due process, and the war ground on. Since then, the national media have repeatedly reported the unraveling of the Movement, especially on college campuses. During the last decade, the Movement has looked to student activists for its theory, tactics and primary pool of manpower. Now, we are told, the campuses have subsided into an "eerie tranquillity" marked by four specific trends: a return to careerism, a return to electoral politics, a rejection of all ideologies and an embracing of old-time religion. I believe that this is only a superficial reading of the current college mood. Beneath each of these four themes there runs a counter-theme of quiet calamity that goes far deeper and carries far greater implications for the future of the country.

Yale University President Kingman Brewster coined the phrase "eerie tranquillity" in the Fall of 1970. At that time he was describing the lull which followed the spring storm triggered by the Panther trials in New Haven, the invasion of Cambodia and the chain-reaction of student strikes—resulting in deaths at Kent State and Jackson State. More recent commentators have expanded Brewster's term to refer to the new-found normalcy on campus, as reflected in the four themes of careerism, electoral politics, anti-ideology and fundamentalism. We must look behind the veil of these issues if we are to view the true face of quiet calamity on campus.

DAVID L. WARREN *is a member of the Yale Religious Ministry and General Secretary of Dwight Hall, the student center at Yale.*

Recent reports from the front-line campus administrators suggest that libraries are filled with diligent students, that graduate school applications are more numerous than ever, and that interviews with business and law firms are on the increase. I am quite certain that these observations are correct. Students find in careerism a seductive alternative to the current confusion of the counter-culture. In the midst of economic recession, careerism promises financial stability, the security of a large firm, the plausible predictability of one's advancement with an "organization," and the increased ability to plan ahead. In brief, careerism offers a high survival quotient.

The Movement, on the other hand, has been plagued by economic disaster, the collapse of alternative institutions and the inability to do future-time planning. Over the last ten years members of the Movement have tried to redefine the private concerns of careerism into a collective agenda aimed at institutions. They have asked, for example, how individuals within an institution might control resources, establish priorities and participate in decision-making processes. The Movement has tackled these issues head on for almost a decade. The most serious experiments centered on the strategy of building alternative institutions from the bottom up: i.e., structuring in processes and assumptions that would provide democratic control, personal productivity and effective social influence. A whole gamut of Movement institutions sprang up in accord with this experimental idea, including schools, day-care centers, free clinics, communes, law practices, ministries, and co-operative economic ventures. The results have not been encouraging. On a personal level the Movement discovered that vanity, greed, information control and personal manip-

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ulation can infiltrate the counter-culture with apparent ease. Power and personality clashes developed in spite of the best of intentions. Factions emerged within many experiments, and endless hours were invested in the resolution of disputes. The average life span of the 1,000 free schools born in the last 6 years has been approximately 4 months. During the same period, only day-care co-operatives and free clinics seem to have weathered the storm of ideology and personal competition.

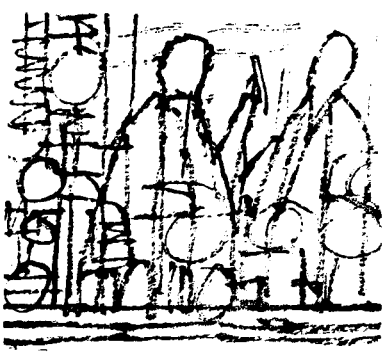
On the public level the abundant federal and foundation resources of '63-'67 began to evaporate during the waning months of the Johnson Administration. With the advent of Nixon and the rise of inflation, all but those economically self-sufficient alternative institutions began to fail. By the Fall of 1971 the mortality rate among Movement experiments had grown to such proportions that its members have sought welfare, unemployment and food stamps en masse, not out of protest but necessity.

Still unresolved are the joint questions of how to build jobs into institutions which both meet its members' needs and have the means to survive in the hostile culture. Careerism has re-emerged to fill the vacuum of this dilemma. However, this trend has taken the particular form of students' turning toward the professions (law, medicine, ministry, architecture) as a compromise solution. Their hopeful assumption is that the professions will allow them as individuals to exercise humane motives (service, advocacy for the underprivileged, etc.) while providing sufficient income to guarantee a roof over one's head, and bread in one's hand.

However, the evidence does not clearly support that assumption. Once enrolled at professional schools students are discovering that the autonomy, initiative and progressive politics that they wish to practice is frustrated in all but the most fringe positions of their fields. Further, these fringe fields (i.e, campus ministry, poverty law and free clinic/community medicine) offer declining financial support and placement opportunities. In 1970 Yale Divinity School succeeded in placing a mere 3 students in the campus ministry out of its graduating class of 105, and in 1971 it was able to take only 1 of its 106 graduates in that field.

One consequence of this dilemma is that a significant number of these left-liberal students remain in the professions but opt for positions which provide economic rather than psychological-political satisfaction. This trend is reflected in a longitudinal study conducted at the Harvard Medical School over the last fifteen years (*Medical Students and Medical Schools 1958-1972*). Each year the study asked graduating students whether the field they were entering was the field in which they really wished to practice. E.g., if a student was going into opthalmology the question was put to him, "Do you really wish to go into opthalmology?" In the first thirteen years of this study the differential between the field which students preferred to enter and that which they were actually planning to enter was only 2 percent. In the study two years ago the differential jumped to 17 percent and this year to 27 percent of those students who are entering medical specialties which they did *not* prefer. Psychiatry in particular reflected the fact that students were opting for fields which emphasized economic security over the satisfaction of group practices oriented around community needs. This same phenomenon is occurring at Yale Law School where corporate law firms are currently enjoying a turn-away crowd of student interviewees. These young lawyers would prefer to enter neighborhood or Nader-type practices, but they can find no openings. In his recent book, *Action for a Change,* Ralph Nader estimated that "public interest" positions are available for only one-tenth of one percent of those professional graduates who want to work in low-paying and high-service community action projects.

What we may have in the making here is a kind of trojan horse phenomenon within the professions. That is, an increasing number of individuals who are entering careers have already rejected the primary goals and



processes articulated by the elders of that profession. It is possible that a "reform from within" strategy may evolve from those very individuals who would have preferred to place themselves on the fringe of their professions.

The return of students to electoral politics, a la Eugene McCarthy in 1968, seems to me very much of a myth in spite of the fact that 18-year-olds may vote, and, indeed may register even if they choose not to vote. There's been no significant activity in the last four months to indicate that students want any part of the traditional political process. In November the state of Connecticut reported that only 38,000 of the 156,000 potential voters from 18 to 20 years old had chosen to register. As recently as the second week of January only 36 percent nationally of those eligible in the 18-20 age bracket have bothered to become voters. I think that this is a sign that students remain skeptical of national, state and local politicians. The feeling is that candidates represent narrow self-interests, that they are more image than reality, that they are frequently power hungry and vain, and that they represent not idealism, but only

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expediency. I predict that students will not enter in any serious way the '72 election unless a candidate emerges who is forthright, under 45, and outspoken in his efforts to reduce racism, economic exploitation and bombings in southeast Asia.

There is a deeper reason behind this alienation from the ballot box than the mere distaste for the candidates. In the last ten years the Movement has redefined politics as a way of understanding one's whole being, as a process of linking together and making consistent creed and deed. Much of the Movement's politics has been an attempt to organize one's life in *reaction* to the traumas of the culture: riot, assassination, national deceit, a brutal and senseless war, unremitting racism and sexism, and the rape of the environment. In short, Movement politics has represented an effort to understand and *act on* one's total relationship to the culture. This concept of politics is in marked contrast to the passive support of some candidate who has survived the compromises of conventions and primaries.

The politics of the Movement are based on and complicated by the need to discover one's own identity. That proper identity has to be known in order that one can transform the culture in one's own image. But how is the individual to locate the touchstone of his being? Is it to be determined by race? (Black Power) Sex? (Women's Liberation) Class? (Worker-Student Alliance) Age? (Youth International Party, YIPPY) Religion (Jewish Defense League). All or combinations of these factors? Or none? Does identity emerge primarily out of academic study or experiences beyond the academy? Perhaps it is through meditation or drugs or their combination which point us toward a resolution of who we are. Students have embraced each of these strategies as the *sine qua non* of identity, and many have then rejected them one by one as superficial, bourgeois, or illusory.

I would say that students are rightfully confused by the ambiguity of the identity issue as posed by the Movement. At the same time students are put off by the dominant culture which invites them to understand themselves through political parties which refuse to face squarely the issues of race, a militaristic economy, or the destruction of the environment. Students will not return in any significant numbers to electoral politics until these issues of identity and priority are embraced and acted upon.

The media tell us that students have abandoned any further attempt to understand America in ideological terms. The claim is that European Marxist-Leninism has proven to be such a disillusionment and failure that students will never again embrace ideology. I think there is just enough truth in that theory to cause it to appear plausible.

I do agree that any imported "historically scientific" intellectual apparatus will not and has not been acceptable to American students. However, Marxist-Leninist ideology did bring to the American youth a way of understanding the issues of racism, of economic exploitation, of violence, of class and caste differences. The Movement has not lost sight of these questions. They have discarded the general Marxist framework but the issues themselves remain.

Indeed, there is now a search by Movement members for a way to understand how these issues can be approached through an American analysis. How can distributive justice be found? How can non-violence be maintained as a form of politics both as means and end? How can one struggle with these forces in American society without either being overwhelmed by them or being forced to adopt them as tactic? In short, students continue in search of a functional analysis of how America works and how America can be transformed. They are persuaded that this analysis must be indigenous, that it must be rooted in the American experience of Frontier; that it must embrace the bread and butter issues of housing, jobs, education and inflation; that it must learn to tolerate parochial patriotism and that it must oppose policies which frustrate the life instincts of the land and people.

The new student ideology will reject in part or in whole any foreign imported analysis. It will be more flexible, less dogmatic, centered on the reality of the technocratic state and the need to master its resources. Finally it will turn for theoretical leadership from Marx to Revel and from Lenin to Alinsky.

Oldtime Religion

On almost any given Sunday in Heartland America one can find among the list of announced sermons, titles like "The Prodigal Son: American Youth Returning to Religion," or "Jesus People: The New Spirit of the Church." I have listened closely to the wistful logic of these sermons and have waded through numerous articles which reach similar sympathetic conclusions. The tale being told by avuncular mainstream pastors is that American youth on campus have found in Jesus a way to get "unhooked" from drugs, revolutionary politics and rebellion against authority. Jesus is being cast as the answer to their every problem, as the authority who provides a new and holy dogmatism around which to organize their lives.

The hope against hope which is being voiced from the pulpit is that American college youth have come home again, that they have returned to the fold of American Culture Religion as it has been practiced for the last 25 years.

On the altar of that American Culture Religion rest the four idols of worship: a belief in monogamous sexual relationships within and without marriage, the creed that life's primary responsibility is work not leisure; the

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articulated faith that corporate capitalism is the only righteous form of organizing an economy; and the declaration that the law and its flag demand unblinking allegiance irrespective of circumstances. If this be the universe of religion to which students are purportedly returning, then the deacons are gravely mistaken in their observations. What we have here is a case of fantasy overwhelming fact. In the last 18 months a gaggle of religious groups have descended on the campus, ranging from the Zen Buddhists and Hare Krishnas of the East to the Pentecostal Catholic Movement and the Jesus Freaks of the West. It is my observation that these two extremes bracket a more fundamental awakening of religious concern among students. There is a religious revival going on but it is in almost dialectic tension with the whole spirit and law of the dominant church in America. As a way of characterizing this phenomenon, I have tagged it the Jesus Revisited Movement (JRM). The Jesus Revisited Movement pivots on a set of related questions. It asks, "How best to organize my life for the purposes of saving myself and others?" How shall I spend my time? What will my relations be

with others? With the environment? What law do I follow? What role does Jesus play in my life?

The Jesus Revisited people have evolved no hard and fast doctrine, but they have begun to gather around certain practices. Monogamous relationships are acceptable but so too is polygamy, in those instances where it serves the needs of the participants. Marriage is not a concern of the state but of the two or more individuals who wish to convenant together. Work is seen not as a necessary drudgery but as an opportunity to act out one's values, dreams and responsibilities. Thus leisure is not the opposite of work but rather a playful extension of it. Simple joys and common pleasures are to be integrated into those hours when one is producing goods or services for his chosen community.

A direct corollary of this work-leisure concept is found in the JRM opposition to corporate capitalism. Corporate capitalism acts to separate an individual's work from both his values and leisure. It requires that he commit himself to organizations which are authoritarian, profit-oriented and massive in size.. By contrast, the economy of the JRM is based on social democracy. The means of production and distribution as well as the goods created reflect a concern for self, community and environment. The collective well-being holds precedence over individual success.

Finally, for the JRM any respect for the state's law evolves only out of a prior allegiance to the Triple Commandment, "Love thy God with all thy heart, soul and mind and thy neighbor as thyself." When the specific content of a law is in accord with the Triple Commandment, then it is obeyed. When the state's law conflicts with the biblical norm, then the individual must face the implications of accepting a law he rejects on principle, or violating a law whose penalty he must suffer.

Among members of the JRM the New Testament has arrived as a "heavy document" which can offer sage advice and tell mysterious stories. The New Testament reveals that in the person of Jesus is to be found a rich variety of life-roles. Depending on the orientation of the individual, Jesus might become a model for the Socratic Teacher, Drop-out Carpenter, Prototype of Civil Disobedience, Liberator of his People, Mystery Man, Moral Authority, Faith Healer or Communal Organizer. What these students find most intriguing about Jesus is that while assuming all these roles, he was still able to hold together his creed and his deeds. Jesus took the Triple Commandment and fashioned his life around it. His obedience, discipline and purity of heart represent the paragon of one who had his life together. And what he did with his life was to live it in the loving way he thought God required. It is that personal togetherness and total giving which I think makes Jesus so fascinating to members of the Jesus Revisited Movement.

This discussion would suggest that a serious misreading of the JRM may have occurred within the American Culture Church. Rather than returning to the fold, many of these young people have apparently rejected the fold itself. They have taken seriously the question of personal salvation *within* a communal context, and in the process have undercut the leading religious-cultural assumptions of their elders.

A Last Thought

It is my strong feeling then that the Eerie Tranquillity theory is a grave misunderstanding of the movement. Its four claims—the return to careerism, electoral politics, old-time religion and the repudiation of ideology—have just enough truth to them to be persuasive. But persuasion is one thing and the basis of that persuasion quite another. In the case of the eerie tranquillity theory, appearances have been badly mistaken for reality. A large percentage of students still feel alien from the culture's standard of work, play, worship and politics. These students continue to struggle against this culture and on behalf of their own lives and communities. The mood among them is not tranquillity but calamity—quiet

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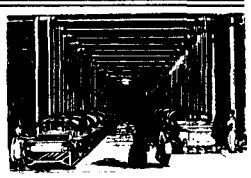
calamity. They feel alienated from the major institutions, cut off from any means of economic self-sufficiency, left empty by the empty rituals of the Culture Religion and contemptuous of laws which violate the life instincts. They continue in their search for a fresh and realistic analysis of how to transform America, yet all the while they must fight the temptations of despair, violence and the growing sense that they might never win a world which they can call their own.

This last year has been a winter of discontent for students and the Movement they represent. But that winter will not endure forever. The war, the economy and the upcoming national election each carries within it the spark to thaw the chill and to rekindle student involvement in the country's problems. One thing *is* perfectly clear regarding the future of the student involvement: until power is reclaimed by the American people, until public rhetoric is replaced by official candor, until the life instincts are celebrated and supported by the culture—not until then will calamity disappear from the campus and will students embrace genuine tranquillity.

SHOWDOWN AT LORDSTOWN

RUSSELL W. GIBBONS



The most dramatic instance of worker resistance since the 1937 Flint sit-downs.

Fifteen years ago Harvey Swados produced one of the first insights into the world of the forgotten blue-collar worker in his novel *On the Line*. It portrayed the quiet desperation of nine men who worked on an automobile assembly line, all coming from different backgrounds, but all bound together by the clanking, irresistible motion of the line and its dull, unremitting and often back-breaking work.

Harold, one of the men on the line, dreamed of leaving the plant someday as did most of his co-workers, and at the threshhold of his breakout he observed it from the greasy window of a cafe on a nearby bluff: ". . . it looked like nothing so much as a splendid, progressive new prison, conceived and executed by an architect who knew how to use glass and aluminum to conceal concrete pillboxes and whirling searchlights; at this moment he would not have been at all surprised to hear the wail of a siren announcing his escape. How did I stick it out so long, he marveled, how did I keep from going stir-crazy?"

Then the line was turning out 300 cars a day, and the pace was generally accepted as killing to any but younger men. Today, they are producing up to 100 Vegas an hour at the sprawling complex of General Motors at Lordstown, Ohio. Having been burned in public in one of Ralph Nader's first jousts with corporate power, an environmentally-conscious GM built an attractive assembly plant in the rolling hills of northeastern Ohio. The vantage point is not the greasy cafe of Harold's time, but the windows of new Vegas and Fords and small imports which speed by on the Interstate between Youngstown and Cleveland. Inside, however, the men who work on the line feel that little has changed, and that if anything, the work prognosis for going 'stir-crazy' is up.

Designed and executed as the fastest-moving assembly line in the world, Lordstown is so automated that it has some two dozen mechanical robots who bend around corners to make over 500 welds an hour. The only U.S. plant to turn out the subcompact Vegas, it was to be GM's hope for a small car to beat back the imports. So far it has cost the corporation an estimated $40 million in lost production, and produced what may prove to be the most dramatic instance of worker resistance since the Flint sit-downs in 1937.

Most observers agree that the young work force at Lordstown is the central factor in an issue which has become the auto industry's worst labor problem in several years: more than 6,500 workers—whose average age is 24—voted by a margin of 97 percent to support a strike action at the GM Vega plant at balloting held in early February. And the issue is not money, but one which only a few years ago was confined to the philosophical and ideological dialogues of labor educators and seminars on work: the redefinition of work rules and some sort of solution to the dulling, repetitive and sometimes psychologically killing nature of the assembly line.

Since then GM and the young leaders of United Auto Workers Local 1112 have been going hammer-and-tongs over resolving the problem, which to the men on the line is initially one of speedup and to the corporation is at best a planned slowdown, but which most of them are convinced is really industrial sabotage. They are not prepared to level those charges, but the slit upholstery, scratched paint, dented bodies and cut wires

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suggest something of that sort.

To many on the line such acts have been the only way to vent their frustrations and even desperation, and the Feb. 2 vote demonstrated the broad base of the discontent at Lordstown. The background of the trouble can be traced to last summer when the Vega facility was consolidated with a nearby Fisher body plant and over ten percent of the 8,000 work force was laid off. Despite this, a speedup was instituted and the Vegas came down the line at such a rate that each worker was given about 36 seconds to perform his assigned operation, about a third of the time line men are allotted in other assembly plants.

The 29-year-old president of Local 1112, Gary Bryner, points out that the pace is so great that available assembly line equipment built for lower speeds is breaking down. The corporation is replacing the machines, but so far has not offered any consolation to the men who are being asked to meet the same killing pace. "We had 100 or so grievances before the new management at Lordstown came last October," says Bryner. "Now we have over 5,000 filed against the speedup conditions, deteriorating work conditions and new job assignments of the 700 workers who were eliminated."

GM has instituted informal talks with the Lordstown workers in an effort to resolve some of the opposition, yet union officials point out that many of the new management team which came last October either do not know of the UAW system of grievance committeemen and stewards, or have ignored them. Some appear to be playing a game of bluff-and-dare with the union, pointing out that the UAW leadership in Detroit would never sanction a strike at Lordstown because of the consequences it could produce in other plants where there is relative stability. And they also bank on the reluctance of the union to finance another strike in GM, having not fully recovered from the costly 1970 confrontation with the corporation. The angry young men on the line at the Vega plant only know that they have dramatized their initial grievance, the speedup, and not only want to return to the pre-October pace but are going to seek a whole redefinition of work rules.

The corporate counterpart of "protective reaction" is called "job enrichment," which is seminar lexicon for assigning more tasks to a worker in order that he may obtain "a sense of fulfillment." A session of the Society of Automotive Engineers in Detroit last year explored ways and means to have a line worker enjoy his work more, and suggested that they be placed on an annual salary. Union workers on the line counter with suggestions for a wholesale change in the production of automobiles, citing recent elimination of the assembly line by the Volvo and Saab companies in Sweden, and the substitution of teams of 20 workers who have the parts brought to them and assemble them in a team effort.

The UAW has already told Ford that it should come up with a better idea for next year's negotiations about the whole concept of work. "This traditional concept that hard work is a virtue and a duty, which older workers adhered to, is not applicable to younger workers," declared UAW Vice President Ken Bannon, the director of the union's Ford department. "The concepts of the younger work force must be taken into account," he said and also urged that the team production approach be considered as a partial solution. Ford, the pioneer of the assembly line, dismissed the team concept as impractical and wasteful when it was brought up in the 1970 contract talks.

The workers of the late '50s, who survived *On the Line*-type existences of mind-numbing boredom, did so because of the pressures of a post-Korea economy and the new consumer society. Many of their counterparts today have arrived on the line paying on a mortgage as well as on one of the Vegas they will assemble, and they are in a hurry to get more. They share the long hair and the bell bottoms of the youth culture, and even if they dislike their peer group at Kent State or the coffeehouses, they know that youthful protest has toppled a President and changed our course in foreign policy in the past eight years. They have no illusions of Lordstown as an industrial Waterloo for the assembly line, but there may be evidence that it could become just that.

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DEPORTATION FROM PARADISE

THE SCREEN

I have been putting off a review of De Sica's *The Garden of the Finzi-Continis* in the hopes that Marcel Ophuls' *Le Chagrin et la Pitié* would get a commercial opening. Although I missed the Ophuls documentary at last fall's New York Film Festival, I know that it's about the less heroic side of French behavior under Nazi occupation. De Sica's film is about the Italian persecution of the Jews under the Fascists. At least in part, each director's aim would seem to be to remind his fellow countrymen of something they had hoped to conceal even from themselves. But I still have had no second chance to see Ophuls' film.

De Sica's is, of course, a fiction film, not a documentary. It's based on a Giorgio Bassani novel about a romance between two young Jews in Ferrara, Italy, during the period of 1938-1943. Micol is the daughter of the Finzi-Continis, the wealthy and aloof patriarchs of Ferraran Jewry. Giorgio is the son of a more bourgeois family. And there is an interloper, Malnate, who is an aristocrat. But in this film as in all De Sica's work, the human story is part of the context of history. The characters are affected by the impersonal forces of economics and politics as much as by each other. We are aware of them as people who are in (though never in control of) history.

The love story in this film has a structure that reflects De Sica's binocular view of human experience. Micol and Giorgio are separated twice in the course of the film, and each separation is in effect an epicenter and culmination of their story. The first time Micol herself is the cause. She has been baiting Giorgio to be more forward in his courtship, and then slighting him when he does not respond fast enough. Finally she tells him not to come to see her anymore. The second time they are separated it is quite different. This time Micol and the other Finzi-Continis have been caught in the round-up of Jews for deportation, but Giorgio has escaped.

Despite the contrast between the two separations, the two halves of the story leading up to them are parellel in certain ways. The love affair between Micol and Giorgio in the first half began, we learn in a flashback, when they were children. On riding his bicycle past the wall around the Finzi-Contini estate one day, Giorgio was invited by Micol to climb over and play with her. This happened ten or twelve years before the time in which the film is set, but in a sense Micol still hasn't come of age. When she rejects Giorgio, she is still playing. De Sica's treatment emphasizes this by the puerile way in which he has Micol reject Giorgio a second time just before their second separation. Again Giorgio is riding a bicycle past the place in the wall where she once invited him to climb over. But this time he sees Malnate's bicycle there. Climbing over, Giorgio confronts Micol in her garden in a fancifully designed guest cottage (or is it a children's playhouse?) where she flaunts her promiscuity to drive him away.

The ironic implication of the scene is that time has passed by Giorgio and Micol, the way it does storybook lovers. They are still acting out romantic fantasies in that never-never land of a garden. But in fact the times are about to overwhelm them, and that turn of events is what De Sica is really making his film to dramatize. Between the two episodes in which Micol rejects Giorgio, much has happened to suggest that Micol must come of age after all. Her brother has died in that little guest cottage, for one thing; and unlike her earlier relationship with Giorgio, her relationship with Malnate is at least physically a woman's, not a girl's. More important still, her love affair with Giorgio may have been a puppy love at the mercy of her whim alone, but her affair with Malnate, since he is not a Jew, is a crime in Mussolini's new Fascist state.

Among the various parallels that characterize Bassani's novel, the one that caught De Sica's imagination is that between Micol's private life and the history of Italian Jewry. The real fall from innocence here is not Micol's with Malnate, but the Jews' with the State. Life in the garden of the Finzi-Continis has been a prelapsarian existence, as De Sica's casting suggests. The major characters who live outside the garden—Giorgio, his father, and even Malnate—are dark-haired and robust. But Dominique Sanda, who plays Micol, is a blonde, pale creature, as is Micol's diseased, homosexual brother. Micol's parents are not only fair and ethereal like their children but old as well—inordinately old and frail-looking to sustain the family line. At the moment when Micol has given up her girl's innocence with Malnate, it is already inevitable that she and her family will be driven out of their garden of Paradise.

In some ways *The Garden of the Finzi-Continis* reminds me of *Umberto D.*, which is one of De Sica's greatest films. The old man who is the central figure in that film is not a very attractive character. In the introductory scenes, in fact, De Sica seems purposely to be showing us the seamier side of Umberto's nature. He is the kind of old man who wants everyone to hear about how he is being exploited, but who will seldom listen to someone else's problems and would clearly exploit the kindness of others if given a chance. The reason De Sica portrays Umberto this way is that he does not want us to sympathize with the old man as an individual. We are concerned for the fate of this old man in post-war Italy not because we like him, but because no old man—not even a somewhat odious one—should have to suffer Umberto's humiliations.

In order to make his point about the society, De Sica

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has to deprive us of a natural fondness for the character. This approach is central to De Sica's notion of neo-realism, and *The Garden of the Finzi-Continis* continues to be true to that notion. Like Umberto, Micol is not a particularly appealing character. She is too much a *belle dame sans merci*. Her treatment of Giorgio is too callow and cruel for us to admire her greatly. This must be the case because it is her fate as a Jew, not her charms as a girl, which De Sica would ultimately have concern us.

Like the ending of *Umberto D.*, when the old man is saved from suicide by his dog, the end of De Sica's new film is sentimental. Micol is suddenly a woman when they come to take her to the deportation center. (Even her hair-do is no longer adolescent.) To the accompaniment of a Polish dirge, the final images in the film are the abandoned guest cottage and garden in the state of ruination to which they will come now, after the Fall. What saves an ending like this is the fact that De Sica never allows himself to become sentimental about events. His generosity is for his characters, not history. His heart goes out to them, but he never rescues them from catastrophe or themselves out of false pity. He is too much of a realist for that. COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

BOOKS

Bernard Shaw: an old and workable lode still

The Road to Equality
BERNARD SHAW
Beacon Press, $9.95

The Intelligent Women's Guide to Socialism, Capitalism, Sovietism and Fascism
BERNARD SHAW
Random House. $12.50

Journey to Heartbreak
STANLEY WEINTRAUB
Weybright and Talley, $8.95

Bernard Shaw, Director
BERNARD F. DUKORE
U. of Washington Press, $7.95

GERALD WEALES

In *The Road to Equality,* Louis Compton has gathered ten hitherto unpublished Bernard Shaw essays, all of them dealing with the English social and economic system, either working diagnostically to identify the evils or prophetically to illustrate the Socialist cure. The pieces, many of which are incomplete, all of which are unfinished, have been taken from manuscripts in the British Museum. Originally—according to Compton's identifications or conjectures—they were articles or books that Shaw began and then abandoned or lectures that he gave but did not prepare for publication. The editor has given his own titles to many of the pieces, has made educated guesses where there are difficulties in the manuscripts and, in the longest essay, the 1914 "Redistribution of Income," has imposed his own order by deciding on the sequence in which the selections will appear. I emphasize Compton's editorial busyness not to criticize him (his choices seem logical from the limited vantage point of the published book), but to underline the fact that Shaw never intended this work for publication. In general, Shaw was right. Most of the pieces were aimed at a particular audience with a particular pedagogical job in mind and, once the occasion passed, the essay or lecture lost its immediacy. The ideas that inform the pieces have a continuing life, of course, but most of them can be found elsewhere in Shaw's work; since their presentation here lacks the polish of treatments which Shaw prepared for the press, they contribute little to his reputation as an effective polemist. In fact, except for passages here and there —sometimes extended ones fortunately —the essays are rather tedious; this is particularly true as they appear in this volume for the repetition from essay to essay—not only of ideas, but of sentences and examples—defeats the effect of the whole. Yet, having sided with Shaw on the suitability of publication, let me—as a now-and-then Shaw scholar—say that I am glad that Compton published the material. It gives us still another chance to see Shaw dealing directly with ideas that, transformed by art, were to appear in the plays; and it gives us further glimpses of Shaw in an immediate political context, glimpses that would be much more vivid if Compton had provided notes to identify the fugitive people and events that move through the pages. Since I do not share Compton's assumption that there is a workable analogy between the United States in the 1970s and the England in which these pieces appeared (1884-1918), I doubt the editor's introductory contention that the essays will be of immediate political use. Except in so far as Shaw's non-canting habit of mind is perennially useful.

A generous helping of Shaw's previously published thoughts on political economy, *The Intelligent Woman's Guide,* has been re-issued by Random House. The occasion, I assume, has less to do with Shaw than it does with the high visibility of the Women's Lib movement. Shaw's casual use of the feminine pronoun (chapter headings: To Each What She Produces; To Each

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What She Deserves) and his concern with specific problems (pay for housework) should appeal to the sisters, but his insistent avuncularity may well drive them up the wall. Shaw was 72 when the book was first published in 1928, which may help explain the tone, but it will not make lines like, "You can amuse yourself by thinking of lots of other services that would benefit everyone," easier to take. Socialism at Ding-Dong School. Behind the manner, of course, there is the usual Shavian good sense, struggling with received opinions, right and left. It is good to have the book in print again.

Stanley Weintraub's *Journey to Heartbreak* is a fascinating book which proves, against its best intentions, that men's lives seldom fit comfortably into scenarios. The essential story of *Journey* —subtitled "The Crucible Years of Bernard Shaw, 1914-1918"—is Shaw's descent into despair and his return. Established as the war's most eminent and most eloquent critic by the publication of *Common Sense about the War* (November 14, 1914), Shaw spent his best energies during the war years in pamphleteering journalism, aimed at demythologizing the war to which he gave reluctant support. At the same time, he shared the losses and pain of friends, unable to sentimentalize them, and a sense of his own waning powers (he was 60 in 1916), distracted from his real work by his constant need to speak out on all the troubling questions of the war years. Through all this he worked fitfully at a play which was to become *Heartbreak House*, his greatest play, although its postwar reception suggested otherwise. That play was a "catharsis," Weintraub says, one that "brought him through his worst months of despair," cleared the ground for his work on *Back to Methuselah* and the promise of *Saint Joan* lying just beyond the book's final pages. A fine dramatic image: the good, gray prophet, rejected by his people, descending, beard flying, stones raining around him, into the pit of darkness, there to create a great work, mottled with despair and hope, and then to begin the hard ascent toward optimism. The image is probably true enough, after its fashion, but a book such as *Journey to Heartbreak* cannot work in such stark terms. It begins almost novelistically (a little too much so for my taste), as Shaw walks to the opening night of *Pygmalion,* but once the book really gets underway, the neat narrative line gives way to an abundance of detail. What Weintraub is doing in *Journey* is giving us a vast amount of information about Shaw's activities during the war years and many of them, as my opening sentence implies, are the ordinary business of social life, of trivial triumphs (Shaw learns to dance in his sixties), of non-war concerns. I can imagine *Journey to Heartbreak,* stripped to bare bones, as the skeleton for a poet-politician play, like those on Hölderlin and Toller now coming out of Germany. The virtue of Weintraub's book is that it keeps that story in mind, if not in focus, as it concentrates on Bernard Shaw at war and at war with that war.

Bernard Shaw, Director is a quilt, stitched together blocks of Shavian quotation. Some of the material is unidentifiable (footnote references to *Shaw on Theatre,* a collection that covers more than fifty years, are hardly revealing) and there is at least one bit of ersatz (a Desmond MacCarthy quotation that is not about Shaw at all), but most of it is quality Shaw stuff gathered by Bernard F. Dukore from published and unpublished sources. Out of the bits and pieces, a pattern emerges. The playwright—as director, as advice-giver, as critic—comes across as a complete man of the theater, concerned with all the elements of production from casting to publicity. Although the actor is his central focus, Shaw insists that every detail—costumes, sets, lighting—contribute to a realization of the author's play. There is nothing startling about the idea of such a theater professional now, but when one recalls that Shaw began his career in a theater in which the actor regularly sacrificed the character to his personality, scenic effects were their own *raison d'être* and costumes were chosen with little thought of character, he can be seen as a pioneer—if not as a discoverer (Tom Robertson and W. S. Gilbert had gone before)—opening the theater to the idea that the director should keep tight control on the whole production. But always for the play's sake. Since the subject of Dukore's book fascinates me, I wish I could report that I enjoyed it. Alas, a quilt does not make for very pleasant reading; the pattern keeps breaking back down into bits and pieces. There are too many quotes, many of them too brief, too unrevealing, and the juxtaposition of comments written years apart is misleading, even if Shaw pretty much retained for his long life an unshakable idea of what a production should be. I will return to the volume frequently, I suspect, but not for the sake of the generalizations that are presumed to grow out of the specific instances of the Shavian directorial mind at work, but because those instances sometimes provide useful additional insights into the Shaw plays.

Creative Ministry

HENRY J. M. NOUWEN

Doubleday, $4.95.

CARL J. ARMBRUSTER

This little book is a big step in several important directions. It offers fresh insights and inspiration to anyone engaged in the Christian ministry.

First published in serial form in the *National Catholic Reporter's* 1971 Lenten series, *Creative Ministry* defines that vague term "spirituality" by presenting some of the real articles rather than by theorizing about it. Nouwen correctly observes: "There is today a great hunger for a new spirituality that is a new experience in God in our lives." However, this experience of God is not to be found by withdrawal from the activity of Christian life, but by plunging more deeply into it, into the very core of Christian ministry. To sharpen the focus of his inquiry, Nouwen approaches Christian service from the viewpoint of the ordained priest, but as he notes,

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"This book is about life-style of every Christian." "Life-style"—that phrase seems the best contemporary equivalent for the venerable term "spirituality." The author presents an interior life-style that gives depth and breadth, vision and challenge to the Christian ministries of teaching, preaching, pastoral care, organizing, and celebrating.

In addition to exemplifying what spirituality is all about, Nouwen contributes substantially to the current discussion about ministry as a profession. He states: "The main concern of this book is the relationship between professionalism and spirituality in the ministry." "Professionalism" connotes special lengthy preparation for a career by the assimilation of knowledge and skills and by demonstrated proficiency. The professional claims special job-qualification and is acknowledged as qualified by his peers. The Christian minister is all this too, but somehow he has to get beyond professionalism, that is beyond external role performance, to "his own most personal faith and insight into life." Theologians have been struggling for some time for a view of priesthood that includes but surpasses professionalism. Karl Rahner long ago pointed out in his essay "Priestly Existence" that the priest must allow the Word to grasp and transform him in the center of his existence (Cf. *Theological Investigations*, III). In this country, the theological and pastoral writings of Eugene Kennedy have repeatedly underscored that the basic instrument of the priest's ministry is his own human personality as developed in harmony with the vision of Christ.

Consequently, Nouwen's chapter headings indicate in shorthand fashion the artificial barriers of an overly-professional approach which neglects the vital dimension of personal faith: *Teaching:* Beyond the Retelling of the Story; *Individual Pastoral Care:* Beyond the Skillful Response; *Organizing:* Beyond the Manipulation of Structures; *Celebrating:* Beyond the Protective Rituals. Beyond professionalism lies the interior life of the minister—his spirituality.

The third direction in which Nouwen's work advances lies in describing succinctly the new meaning of Christian ministry: ". . . the radical commitment to lay down one's own life in the service of others." The "life" to which Nouwen refers is not primarily physical life nor external activities nor intellectual endeavors. Rather, it is one's own experience of God. The call to make available to others our own faith-experience may make us painfully aware of how little we have to offer. Yet, this humbling awareness of our own interior life can be enriched and enriching in the very act of sharing it with others. Our weakness becomes creative. Christian ministry, then, "calls for Christians who are willing to develop their sensitivity to God's presence in their own lives, as well as in the lives of others, and to offer their experience as a way of recognition and liberation to their fellow men." Ministry, then, is not performance of roles or routine carrying out of stereotyped functions, but a sharing of our own faith with others.

I suspect that some people will reject Nouwen's approach to ministry as being far too personal. Admittedly, it makes searching demands on the individual. However, a reading of St. Paul's letters should remind us that preaching the Gospel and serving the Christian community calls for sharing our own experience of Christ with those who do not know Him or seek to grow in Him. No one would accuse St. Paul of spiritual exhibitionism.

The chapters of *Creative Ministry* which best exemplify Nouwen's insights are those on teaching and individual pastoral care. The weakest is the one on organizing. "Community organization" is a specialized term referring to direct social action generated by a group's awareness of its own power and the injustice it suffers. Saul Alinsky fathered the movement in the United States. Every priest and every Christian is not a community organizer in this sense, and should not be. However, the Christian community does require a minimal amount of administrative and organizational service in a less specialized sense. But even here Nouwen makes a crucial point, namely, that ministry must concern itself with the improvement of social structures.

The overall contribution of this small work is impressive, and hopefully the author will continue to share his "creative weakness" with us through more writing of this caliber.

Configurations

OCTAVIO PAZ
TRANSLATED BY
MURIEL RUKEYSER *ET AL.*

New Directions, $6.50

Selected Poems of Gabriela Mistral

TRANSLATED BY DORIS DANA

Johns Hopkins, $10.00

RONALD CHRIST

One of the most impressive (and admirable) characteristics of recent Latin American literature is its devotion to patterns, to conceptions—that is, to the ideal. Of course this devotion can burst into monstrous conceits like Cortázar's *Hopscotch* (which may in fact be the Brasilia of that literature) or it can shrivel into imaginary compositions whose conception is, literally, their execution: conceptual art; but at its best, as often in the work of the Mexican poet Octavio Paz, such devotion can discipline the customary extravagances of Spanish idiom and perception with lavish austerity.

That discipline, issuing in "Clarities/ Cut into jewel points," is everywhere apparent in *Configurations*, a bilingual selection of Paz's poetry from the

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REVIEWERS

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decade 1957-1967; but nowhere is it more visible than in his poem "Blanco" which concludes the anthology. Other pieces in the book, like "Sunstone"—a longish, ambitious poem based on the Aztec calendar stone and often considered Paz's masterpiece—evidence Paz's traditional and mythological geometries; yet "Blanco" does all that while also displaying Paz's major themes in a pellucid structure of variable complexities.

The poem is prefaced by a note whose chief virtue consists in illuminating the title word for the English-language reader: *"Blanco*: the color white; blank left in writing; void, emptiness; mark to shoot at (Blank: the central white spot of a target); aim, object of desire." This single word defines Paz's preoccupations, ranging from pre-existing silence or whiteness of the printed page to the articulated hues of passion and desire, for if Mallarmé's blank page is the palimpsest on (and about) which Paz writes, the eroticism of the East often lures him —a "soul among sensations"—to write in the first place.

The rest of the note suggests ways of reading the poem. For example, its central column is a single text; so, too, are its side columns and all three can be considered one simultaneous poem or they each can be read in smaller units corresponding to phases of the three major themes: love, awareness and "the passage of the word from silence before speech to silence after it." All told I count seventeen constitutent poems and one kaleidoscopic total: eighteen poems in a constantly shifting matrix of theme and typographical space demonstrating that this whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Clearly, "Blanco" is a *tour de force* fulfilling Paz's manifesto in "Letter to Leon Felipe":

> Poetry
> Is the fissure
> The space
> Between one word and another
> The configuration of the unaccomplished

and you are invited to participate in the accomplishment (by arrangement) of that configuration: at once a dazzling formal conception and a perfect thematic expression from the man who may be the most accomplished of Latin American poets writing today.

In contrast, there are no conceptions in the poetry of Gabriela Mistral, the Chilean writer of an earlier generation. Nor is there rarified sensibility as we find it in Paz. If he is alert to "Incandescences of white bread," she saw tables laid "with the quiet whiteness of cream"; and while he attempts "To sharpen/ Silences/ To the point of transparency," she tried to simplify the language of poetry as she sang tender songs for children or heralded the cruel but spiritualized suffering epitomized in her pseudonym: *Gabriela* for the archangel, *Mistral* for the tormenting wind of Provence. In doing so she avoided the occasional "Rattle of semantic seeds" that Paz himself calls our attention to in his own poetry and achieved, as W. S. Merwin reminds us, "A moving and powerful voice, one that must be known if we are to pretend to an understanding of modern Latin American poetry." But it is exactly this voice which has been buried in the pompous tomb of the first Nobel Prize for Literature to a South American (1945), interred beneath tombstone translations in this current selection. Certainly you can't hear her —can you hear anyone?—in lines like

> One night I fell asleep
> and knew nothing more.
> He slipped from my arms.
> rolled away, and I lost him.

And the most you will hear (or hear about) in this volume is a poetess, "Gabriela," who came from "her beloved valley of Elqui" to unintentionally initiate a cult of friends who pass for critics and translators of her work.

No one, I think, will fault Gabriela Mistral for not being a poet of schemes or conceptions—her value, precisely, lies elsewhere—but no one should ignore the possibility that such writers —Cortázar, Borges, Paz, to name a few—catch our preliminary attention because their conceptions or structures are what is immediately, inherently translatable. Each, it is true, has won brilliant translators, but even without them something from their exemplary writings would still have come through. Not so with Gabriela Mistral whose small but individual voice has been expensively silenced in this edition. Lacking those configurations announced in Paz's title, she has lost all. Writing translatable literature may not be a measure of greatness; but it is, after all, what we often mean by greatness.

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Steinfels (Cont.)

that fact affected their work in ways we now criticize, but it alone does not amount to rebuttal.

The more important point, however, is that just as "patriarchal authoritarianism" is an ethic reflecting numerous factors other than "sexual caste," the same is true of "feminist ethics." The curious fact that the cutting issue of "feminist ethics" is one on which upper-class men have long led in supporting the "feminist" position has already been noted. But is it any coincidence that by and large the strength of the feminist movement has been among women who are within aspiring distance of the "dominant elite" — white, college-educated, and in business, professions, the university, media, or government? (I am going not only by the impressions of many observers, but by the statements of leading feminists, who have repeatedly lamented this fact.) Ms. Daly announces an emerging "feminist ethics" but it is hard to see, so far anyway, how this differs significantly from the situation ethics already widely accepted, in theory and in practice, among the educated establishment. Ms. Daly announces a "new consciousness" challenging "the symbols and the ethics of patriarchal religion"—for two centuries now, patriarchal religion has been getting it in the gut from the "new consciousness" among the educated, with results that are not overly impressive. Ms. Daly announces nothing less than a "transvaluation of values," from self-abnegation to self-affirmation—as did that sterling feminist Nietzsche, 90 years ago. Even the language—an "ethic of existential courage to confront ambiguity"—is not unfamiliar. Ms. Daly prides herself that this will not sit well with the military-industrial complex, and she is no doubt correct for the (lower-class?) drill sergeant. But let me assure her that, for years, counter-insurgency experts and nuclear strategists and established foreign policy intellectuals have been talking the "ethic of existential courage to confront ambiguity" until we are up to the ear-lobes in it. Is it true then that the women's movement is only the ladies' auxiliary for the male, well-educated "establishment," as Judith Blake phrases it, to which the movement is close sociologically and to whose world it aspires? Are "feminist ethics" only a woman's page variation on the general, secular, "enlightened" ethics which are in good part responsible for the shape of our society today?

No. That would not be true. The women's movement is much more than that, and "feminist ethics" do, I believe, promise to bring enough different experience and different perspective, previously suppressed, to old problems that traditional ethicists should be prepared to have their formulations shaken.

Nevertheless, what those rhetorical questions imply is partially true, and significantly so. The women's movement, as it exists now and as it is represented in Mary Daly's article, reflects a class, an ideology, a culture, as

The Task of Peace

WE MUST NOT BE LULLED into a false sense of comfort by the present program called "Vietnamization" of the war. . . It is a program not for ending the war, but for continuing it with undiminished intensity. Nor must we be misled by assurances that the war is "winding down." All that is happening is that fewer American soldiers are being killed. Vietnamese deaths are continuing as before, caused by more intensive bombings by our war planes, caused also by increasingly sophisticated electronic devices making possible even more devastating bombings and shellings. . . . The only morally acceptable course for the United States is to withdraw *all* our armed forces, stop providing the means of war for the Saigon government, and begin repairing the damage for which we have been responsible in that country.

Turning away from Vietnam, we see people suffering in many other places in the world. Some are forced to remain poor and are deprived of the means of bettering themselves by an unfair economic system which governs their lives. The conditions under which they live are a breeding ground for violence, for more Vietnams at home and abroad. . . .

Our task, then, is wider than just stopping the war in Indochina, urgent as that may be. We are faced with the need to work for justice among peoples everywhere—in Vietnam, Pakistan, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Latin America, Africa, here at home, everywhere—in order that true peace may spread throughout the world. We must, as the prophet Amos urged long ago, "let justice flow like water, and integrity like an unfailing stream."

—from Bishop Carroll T. Dozier: "Peace: Gift and Task"
Commonweal, December 24, 1971

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much as it reflects the experience of women. It is part of that stream of our history which gave us *laissez faire* in thought in the 18th century, in economics in the 19th century, lately in sexual morality, and now in the matter of extinguishing human life. It is not by accident that women's lib has returned to the language of "property rights" in its agitation for abortion-law repeal. There is much to be said for that stream of our history. Also much to be said against it, and our most honored social critics have been saying it for a long time.

Nothing I have written proves that repeal of abortion laws is not, despite all, the best policy. Personally I do not believe it is. But to consider that an argument's meaning is exhausted by an examination of its origins is to commit the historic-genetic fallacy—in the case of "feminist ethics" as well as "patriarchal authoritarianism." My oblique approach, is nonetheless intended, I admit, to apply to the entire abortion discussion. For by now it should be clear that what the abortion debate is about is not the rape cases still so prominently mentioned in articles like Ms. Daly's nor the hard instances demanding consideration of a "complex web of circumstances." These must be dealt with, yes. But what we are really talking about now is a change in social values in which abortion becomes a normal means of birth control, even part of a general policy of population limitation. Implied is an instrumental view of human life which meshes smoothly with the values of super-industrialism and which is taking us a long way toward the Disposable Society.

Some segments of the women's movement have recognized the danger that their efforts might be unwittingly pointing in that direction. So far, it seems, they have modified the language in which they couch their demands more than altering the demands themselves. But particularly on the question of abortion do I detect very little recognition of ambiguity. Instead, the women's movement has its own forms of "spiritual counseling" and "textbook answers," most of them oriented toward eliminating the ambiguity and complexity Mary Daly writes so much about. Perhaps this will change if the movement loses its close class and economic ties with the "dominant elite." Under those circumstances I would feel better about changes in the laws.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 515)

it took shape in recent years in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, was an amalgam of various tendencies. Perhaps the dominant ones were an aspiration for Croatia's economic sovereignty, for individual liberties and for the rule of law. The Croat Marxist intellectuals and economists tended to see the ancient Serbo-Croat conflict in economic terms—as a struggle for the control of hard currency earnings from tourism in Croatia and the remittances of hundreds of thousands of Croat workers employed in Western Europe.

The young, progressive, university-educated Croat Communist leaders sought to justify their demands ideologically by projecting Marx's dictum that each worker is entitled to the fruits of his labor, and that to deprive him of these benefits constitutes exploitation, to the level of Croatia's relations with the Belgrade government and bureaucracy. The Croat progressive Communists were not working to dismember Yugoslavia (as Tito is now charging) but to reconstruct it on a confederative basis. But now Tito has crushed the legitimate and entirely legal strivings of the Croat Communists by repression and the arrest of many hundreds of students and intellectuals, proving in Marxist terms that their strivings were *objectively* misguided. These feelings have already strengthened those elements in Croatia who have consistently argued that no satisfactory union with the Serbs is possible and that the Croats must achieve complete national independence through revolutionary action, following the example of the Irish, Israelis, Bengalis, Cypriots and other oppressed peoples.

Already Croatian revolutionaries (or terrorists, if you will) have blown up a Yugoslav JAT DC-9 and have bombed factories and trains in Yugoslavia. And this may just be the beginning. The end result may be another tragedy of escalating violence and bloodshed. MATTHEW M. MESTROVIC

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